

## Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin.

### RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS IN WISCONSIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur Radisson, and his sister Margaret's husband, Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, were among the most daring and successful explorers known in North America during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Groseilliers arrived in Canada in 1641, when but sixteen years of age; while Radisson arrived on the 24th of May, 1651. They were constant companions in their dangerous journeyings, through the heart of the Northwest, from 1658 to 1685; being alternately employed under the flags of both Great Britain and France, as fancy or their self-interest dictated. From 1652 to 1664, Radisson made notes of his individual and their joint wanderings, which he copied out in 1665; these cover his first four voyages of exploration in the Northwest. Later, he wrote out a journal of their voyage of 1682–83, to the Hudson Bay region, where they originated the idea of forming a settlement, from which developed the Hudson Bay Company's mammoth establishment; and still another narrative covering their experiences there in 1684,—the last named being in French. The MS. narratives of the first four voyages, evidently intended not for publication, but for the edification of King Charles II., of England, whose patronage the adventurers were then seeking, in London,—came into the possession of the famous diarist, Samuel Pepys, secretary of the admiralty both to King Charles and James II. In 1703, Pepys's manuscripts, falling into the hands of London shopkeepers, were used, many of them, for waste paper; but in January, 1750, Richard Rawlinson, a famous collector, secured as many of these Pepys documents as he could find, and among them chanced to be Radisson's priceless narratives of 1652–1664. Finally, they drifted into the Bodleian Library, where they now are. The narrative of 1682–83 was purchased for the British Museum, July 8, 1839, of Rodd, a London dealer in antiquities; while the French narrative of 1684 came to the Museum in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. In 1885, Gideon D. Scull, of London, England, copied these manuscripts in the

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Bodleian Library and the British Museum, and later the same year they were published by the Prince Society, of Boston, in a limited edition, not generally accessible. Mr. Scull furnished a biographical and critical introduction, and a few valuable explanatory notes; but not a sufficient number of the latter to render the narrative easy reading or the course of the travelers apparent to any but antiquarian experts. Not a scholar, and writing in an age when even the orthography of the learned was uncertain and their literary style often clumsy, and writing, too, in a language with whose grammatical forms this wild Frenchman was ill acquainted. It is not surprising that Radisson's narratives are unique specimens of "English as she is wrote;" and that one who attempts to critically read his pages and trace the intricate wanderings of these adventurous explorers, upon a modern map, must often trust to inference.

In *Minn. Hist. Coll.*, v., pp. 401–403; *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ix., pp. 292–298, and *Mag. West. Hist.*, vii., pp. 412–421, Edward D. Neill has given brief popular sketches of the romantic career of Radisson and Groseilliers, based on Scull's introduction. Radisson's first "voyage," in 1652, an individual experience, was in the character of prisoner, a party of Mohawks having captured him in the neighborhood of Three Rivers and carried him with them to their village, where he was adopted; but he ran away, October 29, 1653, went to the Dutch at Albany and from Manhattan sailed for Holland. In May, 1654, he was back again at Three Rivers. In July, 1657, he accompanied the Jesuit Fathers, Paul Ragueneau and Joseph Inbert Duperon, to their mission among the Onondagas, which was clandestinely abandoned on the night of March 20, 1658. This constituted Radisson's second "voyage."

"About the middle of June, 1658," Radisson and Groseilliers, who had now formed a brotherly partnership "to travell and see countreys," began a journey up the Ottawa river. to Lake Huron and beyond. They started in company with twenty-nine other Frenchmen; but being attacked by the Iroquois, all returned except Radisson and Groseilliers, who pushed on with the Huron "wildmen" who served as their guides to the upper country. Dr.

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Neill, in his article in *Mag. West. Hist.*, p. 415, makes the curious mistake of combining the incidents of this third voyage of Radisson with those of the fourth.

Upon arriving at the mouth of French river, the Indians divided their party; “seven boats went towards west northwest and the rest to the South.” The two Frenchmen proceeded with the south-bound fleet, and after making nearly the entire circuit of Lake Huron, stopped with their Indian companions at the village of the latter—apparently on one of the Manitoulin islands. From here, they went on a neighboring visit to “the nation of ye staire haies.”—the Ottawas, who were on the Great Manitoulin. Urged by visitors, —“ambassadors,” Radisson grandiloquently styles them,—from the “Pontonatenick,” or Pottawattomies, the travelers pushed westward through the straits of Mackinaw and visited these new friends, who were then located (see Butterfield's *Nicolet*, p. 71) “upon the islands at the mouth of Green bay, and upon the main land to the southward, along the western shores of Lake Michigan.” They passed the winter of 1658–59 with the Pottawattomies,— thus being the first white men known to have set foot within what is now Wisconsin, after the advent of Nicolet in 1634. While with the Pottawattomies, they met with visitors from the Mascoutins, or the famous “Fire Nation,” whom Nicolet had discovered on the south side of Fox river, probably in what is now Green Lake county, Wis. (Butterfield, p. 66), twenty-five years before; and such was the stability of their habitation, Allouez ( *Relation*, 1670, p. 99) found them in the same place, eleven years after Radisson's voyage. In the spring of 1659, the Frenchmen passed up the Fox to visit the Mascoutins. The latter told them of the “Nadoneceronon” nation, or Sioux, their neighbors to the west; also of a wandering tribe, the Christinos, who lived on the shores of Hudson's bay in the summer and in Wisconsin and along the south shore of Lake Superior in the winter.

They appear to have had excellent treatment at the hands of the Mascoutins; and it is undoubtedly to this period of the voyage, in the spring and early summer of 1659, that Radisson refers, when, upon his homeward journey down the Ottawa, he writes, by way of reminiscence, the words commencing with:— “We wears 4 months in our voyage

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without doing any thing but goe from river to river.” In this paragraph,— apparently quite unconscious of the great historic importance of the discovery,— he alludes to the fact that his companion and himself accompanied some Indians “into ye great river,” which from his description was undoubtedly the Upper Mississippi. This discovery antedates that claimed for La Salle (C. W. Butterfield *Mag. West. Hist.*, v., pp. 51, 721–724) by not less than eleven years, and that of Joliet and Marquette by fourteen years, and forms one of the most notable records of early American exploration. There can be no doubt that Radisson's reference is to the Mississippi; and that the event occurred during his visit to the Mascoutins. In 1634, these Indians gave Nicolet an account of “the great water” to the west, but he did not take advantage of the information; and he went no further in that direction ( *Jesuit Relations*, 1640, p. 36; 1654; p. 30; 1670, pp. 99–100). Radisson and Groseilliers, however, were careless of time, and apparently only desirous of satisfying their curiosity,—“to be knowne with the remotest people,” as the narrator puts it. The season they spent with the Mascoutins was the only time they could have made the visit to the Mississippi, for the narrative fully explains their movements during the rest of the third voyage, and leaves them no other opportunity to reach the great river. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the notable discovery was made in the spring or early summer of 1659; and that the approach to the Mississippi was made up the Fox river and down the Wisconsin,— the route pointed out by the Mascoutins to Nicolet, twenty-five years before.

Upon the conclusion of their visit to the Fire Nation, the adventurers returned via Green bay and the straits of Mackinaw, in company with a party of the Mascoutins, to Sault Ste. Marie. After cruising along a portion of the southeastern shore of Lake Superior and in the neighborhood of the Sault, they returned to Lower Canada by way of the Ottawa river, arriving at Three Rivers about the first of June; 1650. Our selections from the third of *Radisson's Voyages* (Prince Society, Boston, 1885) cover the period from leaving the Manitoulin islands to visit what was afterwards Wisconsin, until the return of the adventurers to the Sault in company with the Mascoutins (pp. 147–159); and the paragraph of reminiscence relating to the discovery of the Mississippi (pp. 167–169).

Radisson's fourth voyage, again in the company of his brother-in-law, was commenced in August, 1661. Skirting the southern shore of Lake Superior, they discovered the Pictured Rocks, portaged across Keweenaw point and visited a party of Christines who were located northeast of Montreal river; near this river, some of their Huron companions left them to proceed overland by a well-worn trail to their village about the sources of the Chippewa river; the Frenchmen pushed on with the remainder of the Hurons and after a portage across what is now known as Oak point, in Ashland county, Wis., entered Chequamegon bay. They built a rude fort at "the end of" the bay. About a fortnight later, the Frenchmen proceeded to the Huron village at the head of the Chippewa and passed the winter of 1661–62 in that vicinity. In the spring of 1662 they visited the Bœuf (or Buffalo) band of the Sioux for six weeks and then returned to Chequamegon bay, venturing as far northwest as the Christine villages at Lake Assiniboine. They appear to have returned to Three Rivers in August, 1662. Our selection from the fourth voyage covers only the experiences of Radisson and Groseilliers from the time of their reaching the Montreal river, and entering what is now Wisconsin, in the fall of 1661, until their arrival in the land of the Christinos the following spring (pp. 193–224).

### THE THIRD VOYAGE OF RADISSON.

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We weare then possessed by the hurrons and Octanac [Ottawas]; but our minde was not to stay in an island, but 65 to be knowne w th the remotest people. The victory that we have gotten<sup>1</sup> made them consent to what we could desire, 5

<sup>1</sup> Soon after their arrival in the Manitoulin islands, Radisson and Groseilliers assisted their Huron friends in vanquishing a party of eleven Iroquois, eight of whom were killed and three captured alive. "The dead weare eaten & the living weare burned with a small fire to the rigour of cruelties," calmly writes Radisson.— Ed. 5

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66 & because that we shewed willing[ness] to die for their defence. So we desired to gee w th a company of theirs that was going to the nation of y e starring haire.1

1 Ottawas, who at this time chiefly occupied the Grand Manitoulin. The Ottawas in the Huron village where the Frenchmen were quartered, were evidently few in number.— Ed.

67

We weare wellcomed & much made of, saying that we weare the Gods & devils of the earth; that we should founnish them, & that they would bring us to their ennemy to 68 destroy them. We tould them [we] were very well content. We persuaded them first to come peaceably, not to destroy them presently, and if they would not condescend, then Would wee throw away the hatchett and make use of our thunders. We sent ambassadors to them w th guifts. That nation called Pontonatemick1 w th out more adoe comes & meets us w th the rest, & peace was concluded. Feasts were made & dames w th guifts came of each side, w th a great deale of mirth.

1 Pottawatomies of the Green bay region.— Ed.

We visited them during that winter, & by that means We made acquaintance w th an other nation called Escotecke [Mascoutins], w ch signified fire, a faire proper nation; they are tall and bigg & very strong. We came there in the spring.2 When we arrived there weare extraordinary banquetts. There they never have seen men w th beards, because they pull their haire as soone as it comes out; but much more astonished when they saw our arms, especially our guns, w th they worshipped by blowing smoake of tobacco instead of sacrifice. I will not insist much upon their way of living, ffor of their ceremonys heere you will see a pattern.

2 Meaning that they went to visit the Mascoutins, on Fox river, in the spring of 1659.— Ed.

In the last voyage that wee made I will left you onely know what cours we tanned in 3 years' time. We desired them to lett us know their neighboring nations. They gave

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us the names, w ch I hope to describe their names in the end of this most imperfect discours, at least those that I can remember. Among others they told us of a nation called Nadoneceronon [Sioux] w ch is very strong, w th whome they weare in warres w th , & another wandering nation, living onely uppon what they could come by. Their dwelling was on the side of the salt watter<sup>3</sup> in summer time, & in the land in the winter time, for it's cold in their country. They calle

<sup>3</sup> Hudson's bay.— Ed.

<sup>69</sup> themselves Christinos,<sup>1</sup> & their confederats from all times, by reason of their speech, w ch is y e same, & often have joyned together & have had companys of souldiers to warre against that great nation. We desired not to goe to the North till we had made a discovery in the South, being desirous to know what they did. They [the Mascoutins] told us if we would gee w th them to the great lake of the stinkings<sup>2</sup> the time was come of their traffick, w ch was of as many knives as they could gett from the french nation, because of their dwellings, w ch was att the coming in of a lake<sup>3</sup> called Superior, but since the destructions of many neighboring nations they retired themselves to the height of the lake. We knewed those people well. We went to them almost yearly, and the company that came up w th us weare of y e said nation, but never could tell punctually where they lived because they, make the barre of the Christinos from whence they have the Castors [beavers] that they bring to the french. This place is 600 leagues off, by reason of the circuit that we must doe. The hurrons & the Octanacks, from whence we came last, furnishes them also, & comes to the furthest part of the lake of the Stinkings, there to have light earthen pots, and girdles made of goat's hairs, & small shells that grow att the sea side, w th w ch they trim their cloath made of skin.

<sup>1</sup> Kilistinons, or Kenisteno, now settled in British America and called Crees.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Lake Michigan. Du Creux' map of 1660, one of the earliest charts representing this lake, styles it "Magnus Lacus Algonquinorum, seu Lacus Foete[n]tium," equivalent to "Great Algonquin Lake; or, Lake of the Puants." As Puant was rendered into English "Stinkard," or

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“Stinking,” and Green bay and Lake Michigan were then regarded as one body of water, it will be seen how that body came to be distinguished by Radisson as “the great lake of the stinkings.”— Ed.

3 Sault Ste. Marie.— Ed.

We finding this opportunity would not lett it slippe, but made guifts, telling [them] that the other nation would stand in feare of them because of us. We flattered them, saying none would dare to give them the least wrong, in so much that many of the Octanacks that weare present to make the same voyage. I can assure you I liked noe country as I 70 that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could to be had in great plenty; viz. staggs , fishes in abundance, & all sort of meat, corne enough. Those of the 2 nations would not come w th us, but turned back to their nation. We neverthelesse put ourselves in hazard, for our curiosity, of stay 2 or 3 years among that nation. We ventured, for that We understand some of their idiome & trusted to that.

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We weare 4 months in our voyage w th out doeing any thing but goe from river to river. We mett several sorts of people. We conversed w th them, being long time in alliance w th them. By the persuasion of som of them we went into y e great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the hurons w th some Ottanake & the wild men that had warts w th them had retired.<sup>1</sup> There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warts against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches, the one toward the west, the other toward the South, w ch we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us,<sup>2</sup> Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they [the prisoners] have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabbans & have great beards & had such knives as we have had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people, w ch



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made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We understood

1 A large party of Hurons and Ottawas, while being driven before the storm of Iroquois wrath, had, about five years before Radisson's visit settled on an island in the Mississippi river, above Lake Pepin, but had finally proceeded up the Chippewa river to its source.— Ed.

2 Clearly the Mississippi. The branch “toward the west” may have been the Iowa. It is not likely that our travelers descended to the mouth of the Missouri, or the great river would have made such an impression Upon Radisson that he would have described his journey thither in detail. Again, his authority as to the western branch may have been but hearsay. But the statement is direct, that they saw and “went into ye great river.”— Ed.

71 him not; he was much more tawny then they w th whome we weare. His armes & leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted uppon him. So they doe w th them that they take, & kill them w th clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river.<sup>1</sup> These weare men of extraordinary height & biggnesse, that made us believe they had no communication w th them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles,<sup>2</sup> w ch are mighty bigg. They have fish in plenty throughout y e yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak,<sup>3</sup> w ch grows on vast trees w ch in cornpasse are three arnefull in compasse. When they see litle men they are affraid and cry out, w ch makes many come help them. Their arrows are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I having seene them, [the dishes] could not but admire the curiosity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great stones, red & greene. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not seene, therefore you may believe as you please.

1 Apparently the western branch.— Ed.

2 Pumpkins.—G. D. S.

3 Moose.— Ed.

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## THE FOURTH VOYAGE OF RADISSON.

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We went on and came to a hollow river w th was a quarter of a mile bredth.<sup>4</sup> Many of our wildmen went to win y e shortest way to their nation, and [there] weare then 3 aud 20 boats, for we mett w th some in that lake [Superior] that joyned w th us, and came to keepe us company, in hopes to gett knives from us, w ch they love better than we serve God, w ch should make us blush for shame. Seaven boats stayed of the nation

4 The Montreal.— Ed.

72 of the Sault. We went on half a day before we could come to y e landing place, and wear forced to make another carriage a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad.<sup>1</sup> As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about,<sup>2</sup> if we had gone in. By seeing about that same point we passed a straight, for that point was very nigh the other side, w ch is a cape very much elevated like piramides. That point should be very fitt to build & advantgeous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a chanell where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of a vast biggnesse, and Pycks of seaven foot long. Att the end of this bay we landed. The wildmen gave thanks to that w ch they worship, we to God o f Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation and forsake our boats to undertake a harder peece of worke in hand, to w ch we are forced. The men told us that wee had 5 great dayes' journeys before we should arrive where their wives weare. We foresee the Bard task that

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we weare to undergoe by carrying our bundles uppon our backs. They weare used to it. Here every one for himselfe & God for all.

1 Oak point.— Ed.

2 Chequamegon bay.— Ed.

We finding ourselves not able to perform such a taske, & they could not well tell where to finde their wives, fearing least the Nadoneceronons had warrs against their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I we consulted what was best to doe, and declared oar will to them, w ch was thus: “Brethren, we resolve to stay here, being not accustomed to make any cariage ou our backs as yee are wont. Goe yee and looke for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And seeing that you are not able to carry all your marchandizes att once, we will keepe them for you, and will stay for you 14 dayes. Before the time expired you will send to us if your wives be alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here & what we have; for their paines they shall receive guifts of us. See you will see us in your countrey. If they be dead, we will spend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole countrey for the next spring, for that purpose to destroy those 73 that weare the causers of their death, and you shall see our strenght and vallour. Although there are seavem thousand fighting men in one village, you'll see we will make them runne away, & you shall kill them to your best liking by the very noise of our armes and our presence, who are the Gods of the earth among those people.”

They woundered very much art our resolution. The next day they went their way, and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being but two almost starved for want of food. We went about to make a fort of stakes, w ch was in this manner. Suppose that the watter side had ben in one end; art the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle to defend us from an assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There were boughs of trees all about our fort layed acrossse, one uppon an other. Besides these

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boughs, we had a long cord tyed w th some small bells, w ch weare senteryes. Finally, we made an ende of that fort in 2 dayes' time. We made an end of some fish that we putt by for neede. But as soone as we are lodged we went to fish for more whilst the other kept the house. I was the fittest to goe out, being youngest. I tooke my gunne and goes where I never was before, so I choosed not one way before another. I went to the wood some 3 or 4 miles. I find a small brooke, where I walked by y e sid awhile, w ch brought me into meddowes. There was a poole, where weare a good store of bustards. I began to creepe though I might come neare. Thought to be in Canada, where y e fowle is scared away; but the poore creatures, seeing me flatt upon the ground, thought I was a beast as well as they, so they come neare me, whisling like gosslings, thinking to frighten me. The Whistling that I made them heare was another music than theirs. There I killed 3, and the rest scared, w ch neverthesse came to that place againe to see what sudaine sicknesse befeled their comrads. I short againe; two payed for their curiosity. I think the Spaniards had no more to fulfill then as kill those birds, that thought not of such a thunder bolt. There are yett more countreys as fruitful and as beautifull as y e Spaniards 74 to conquer, w ch be done w th as much ease and facility, and prove as rich, if not richer, for bread and wine; and all other things are as plentifull as in any part of Europ. This I have seene, w ch am sure the Spaniards have not in such plenty. Now I come backe w th my victory, w ch was to us more than tenne thousand pistoles. We lived by it 5 dayes. I tooke goode notice of the place, in hopes to come there more frequent, but this place is not onely so.

There we stayed still full 12 dayes w th out any news, but we had the company of other wild men of other countreys, that came to us admiring our fort and the workmanshipp. We suffered non to gee in but one person [at a time], and [they] liked it so much the better, & often durst not goe in, so much they stood in feare of our armes, that weare in good order, w ch weare, 5 guns, two musquetons, 3 fowling peeces, 3 paire of great pistoletts, and 2 paire of pockett ons, and every one his sword and daggar. So that we might say that a Coward was not well enough armed. Mistrust neverthesse is the mother of safety, and the occasion makes the thief. During that time we had severall alarums in y e night. The

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squerels and other small beasts, as well as foxes, came in and assaulted us. One night I forgott my bracer, w ch was wett; being up and downe in those pooles to fetch my fowles, one of these beasts carried it away, w ch did us a great deal of wrong, and caused y e life to great many of those against whom I declared myselfe an ennemy. We imagined that some wildmen might have surprized us; but I may say they weare far more afrayd than we. Some dayes after we found it one half a mile from the fort in a hole of a tree, the most part torne. Then I killed an Oriniack. I could have killed more, but we liked the fowles better. If we had both [of us] libertie to gee from our fort, we should have procured [enough] in a month that should serve us a whole winter. The wildmen brought us more meate than we would, and as much fish as we might eate.

The 12 th perceived afarr off some 50 yong men towards us, w th some of our formest companions. We gave them leave to come into our fort, but they are astonied, calling us every foot devils to have made such a 75 machine. They brought us victualls, thinking we weare halfe starved, but weare mightily mistaken, for we had more for them then they weare able to eate, having 3 score bustards and many sticks wheare was meate hanged plentifully. They offred to carry our baggage, being come a purpose; but we had not so much marchandize as when they went from us, because we hid some of them, that they might not have suspicion of us. We told them that for feare of the dayly multitud of people that came to see us, for to have our goods [they] would kill us. We therefore tooke a boat and putt into it our marchandizes; this we brought farre into the bay, where we sunke them, bidding our devill not to left them to be weft nor rusted, nor suffer them to be taken away, w ch he promised faithlesse that we should retourne and take them out of his hands; att w ch they weare astonished, believing it to be [as] true as y e Christians the Gospell. We hid them in the ground on the other side of y e river in a peece of ground. We told them that lye that they should not have suspicion of us. We made good cheere. They stayed there three dayes, during w ch time many of their wives came thither, and we traited them well, for they eat not fowle att all, scarce, because they know not how to catch them except w th their arrowes. We putt a great many rind<sup>1</sup> about our fort, and

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broake all the beats that we could have, for the frost would have broaken them or wild men had stolen them away. That rind was tyed all in length to putt the fire in it, to frighten the more these people, for they could not approach it w th out being discovered. If they ventured att y e going out we putt the fire to all the torches, showing them how we would have defended ourselves. We weare Cesars, being nobody to contradict us. We went away free from any burden, whilst those poore miserable thought themselves happy to carry our Equipage, for the hope that they had that we should give them a brasse ring, or an awle, or an needle.

1 Strips of bark.— Ed.

There came above foure hundred persons to see us goe away from that place w ch admired more our actions [than] 76 the fools of Paris to see enter their King and y e Infanta of Spaine, his spouse; for they cry out, “God save the King and Queene!” Those made horrid noise, and called Gods and Devills of the Earth and heavens. We marched foure dayes through y e woods. The countrey is beautifull, w th very few mountaines, the woods cleare. Art last we came w th in a league of the Cabbans, where we layed that the next day might be for our entry. We 2 poore adventurers for the honnour of our countrey, or of those that shall deserve it from that day; the nimblest and stoutest went before to warne before y e people that we should make our entry tommorow. Every one prepares to see what they never before have seene. We weare in cottages w ch weare neare a little lake some 8 leagues in circuit.<sup>1</sup> Atty e watterside there weare abundance of litle boats made of trees y t they have hollowed, and of rind.

1 Apparently Namekagon lake.— Ed.

The next day we weare to embarque in them, and arrived att y e village by watte, w ch was composed of a hundred cabans w th out pallasados. There is nothing but cryes. The women throw themselves backwards uppon the ground, thinking to give us tokens of friendship and of wellcome. We destinated 3 presents, one for the men, one for the

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women, and the other for the children, to the end that they should remember that journey; that we should be spoaken of a hundred years after, if other Europeans should not come in those quarters and be liberal to them, w ch will hardly come to passe. The first was a kettle, two hattchetts, and 6 knives, and a blade for a sword. The kettle was to call all nations that weare their friends to the feast w ch is made for the remembrance of the death; that is, they make it once in seaven years; it's a renewing of ffriendshippe. I will talke further of it in the following discours. The hattchetts weare to encourage the yong people to strengthen themselves in all places, to preserve their wives and shew themselves men by knocking the heads of their ennemyes w th the said hattchetts. The knives weare to show that the ffrench weare great and mighty, and their confederats and ffriends. 77 The sword was to signifie that we should be masters both of peace and warrs, being willing to healpe and relieve them, & to destroy our Ennemyes w th our armes. The second guift was of 2 and 20 awles, 50 needles, 2 gratters of castors , 2 ivory combs and 2 wooden ones, w th red painte, 6 looking-glasses of tin. The awles signifieth to take good courage, that we should keepe their lives, and that they w th their husbands should come downe to the ffrench when time and season should permit. Y e needles for to make them robes of castor , because the ffrench loved them. The 2 gratters weare to dresse the skins; the combes, the paint, to make themselves beautifull; the looking-glasses to admire themselves. The 3 d guift was of brasse rings, of small bells, and rasades<sup>1</sup> of divers colours, and given in this maner. We sent a man to make all y e children come together. When they weare there we throw these things over their heads. You would admire what a beat was among them, every one striving to have y e best. This was done uppon this consideration, that they should be allwayes under our protection, giving them wherew th all to make them merry & remember us when they should be men.

1 Goblets or mugs— Ed.

This done, we are called to the Councell of welcome and to the feast of ffriendshipp, afterwards to the dancing of the heads; but before the dancing we must mourn for y e deceased, and then, for to forgett all sorrow, to the dance. We gave them foure small

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guifts that they should continue such ceremonyes, w ch they tooke willingly and did us good, that gave us authority among the whole nation. We knewed their counsels, and made them doe whatsoever we thought best. This was a great advantage for us, you must think. Amongst such a rowish kind of people a guift is much, and well bestowed, and liberality much esteemed; but not prodigalitie is not in esteeme, for they abuse it, being brutish. Wee have ben useing such ceremonyes 3 whole days, & weare lodged in y e cabban of the chieftest captayne, who came w th us from the ffrench. We liked not the company of that blind, therefore left him. He wondered at this, but 78 durst not speake, because we weare demi-gods. We came to a cottage of an ancient witty man, that had had a great familie and many children, his wife old, neverthelesse handsome. They weare of a nation called Malhonmines;<sup>1</sup> that is, the nation of Oats, graine y t is much in y t cuntry. Of this afterwards more att large. I tooke this man for my ffather and y e woman for my mother, soe the children, consequently brothers and sisters. They adopted me. I gave every one a guift, and they to mee.

1 Menomonees.— Ed.

Having so disposed of our buissinesse, the winter comes on, that warns us; the snow begins to fall, soe we must retire from the place to seeke our living in the woods. Every one getts his equipage ready. So away we goe, but not all to the same place; two, three att the most, went one way, and so of an other. They have so done because victuals weare scant for all in a place. Butt let us where we will, we cannot escape the myghty hand of God, that disposes as he pleases, and who chastes us as a good & a common loving ffather, and not as our sins doe deserve. Finaly wee depart one from an other. As many as we weare in number, we are reduced to a small company. We appointed a rendezvous after two months and a half, to take a new road & an advice what we should doe. During the said terme we sent messengers everywhere, to give speciall notice to all manner of persons and nation that within 5 moons the feast of death was to be celebrated, and that we should apeare together and explaine what the devill should command us to say, and then present them presents of peace and union. Now we must live on what God



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sends, and warre against the bears in the meane time, for we could aime att nothing else, w ch was y e cause that we had no great cheare. I can say that we w th our comrades, who weare about 60, killed in the space of 2 moons and a halfe, a thousand moons<sup>2</sup> we wanted not bear's grease to annoint ourselves, to runne the better. We beated downe the woods dayly for to discover

<sup>2</sup> The writer no doubt meant that they killed so many that they had bear's grease enough to last for a thousand moons.—G. D. S.

79 novellties. We killed severall other beasts, as Oriniacks, staggs, wild cows, Carriboucks, fallow does and bucks, Cats of mountains, child of the Devill; in a word, we lead a good life. The snow increases daily. There we make racketts, not to play att ball, but to exercise ourselves in a game harder and more necessary. They are broad, made like racketts, that they may goe in the snow and not sinke when they runne after the eland or other beast.

We are come to the small lake, the place of rendezvous, where we found some company that weare there before us. We cottage ourselves, staying for the rest, that came every day. We stayed 14 dayes in this place most miserable, like to a churchyard; flor there did fall such a quantity of snow and frost, and w th such a thick mist, that all the snow stoocke to those trees that are there so ruffe, being deal trees,<sup>1</sup> prusse cedars, and thorns, that caused y e darkness uppon y e earth that it is to be believed that the sun was eclips d [under] them 2 months; flor after the trees weare so laden w th snow that fel'd afterwards, was as if it had been sifted, so by y t means very light and not able to beare us, albeit we made racketts of 6 foot long and a foot and a halle broad; so often thinking to tourne ourselves we felld over and over againe in y e snow, and if we weare alone we should have difficultie enough to rise againe. By the noyse we made, the beasts heard us a great way off; so the famine was among a great many that had not provided before hand, and live upon what they gert that day, never thinking for the next. It grows wors and wors dayly.

<sup>1</sup> Pines.— Ed.

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To augment our misery we receive news of the Octanaks, who weare about a hundred and fifty, w th their families. They had [had] a quarell w th y e burrons in the Isle where we had come from some years before in the lake of the stairing hairs, and [who] came purposely to make warres against them y e next summer. But lett us see if they brought us anything to subsist w th all. But [they] are worst provided than we; having no huntsmen, they are reduced to famine. But, O cursed covetousnesse, what art 80 thou going to doe? It should be farr better to see a company of Rogues perish then see ourselves in danger to perish by that scourg so cruell. Hearing that they have had knives and hattchetts, the victualls of their poore children is taken away from them; yea, what ever they have, those doggs must have their share. They are the coursedest, unabled, the unfamous & cowardliest people that I have scene amongst lower score nations that I have frequented. O yee poore people, you shall have their booty, but you shall pay dearly for it! Every one cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men must eate the cord, being you have no more strength to make use of the bow. Children, you must die. ffrench, you called yourselves Gods of the earth, that you should be feared, for your interest; notwithstanding you shall tast of the bitterness, and too happy if you escape. Where is the time past? Where is the plentynesse that yee had in all places and courtreys? Here comes a new family of these poore people halle dead, for they have but the skin & w shall we have strength to make a hole in the snow to lay us downe, seeing we have it not to hale our racketts after us, nor to cut a little wood to make a fire to keepe us from the rigour of the cold, w ch is extreme in those Countreyes in its season. Oh! if the musick that we heare Could give us recreation, we wanted not any lamentable musick nor sad spectacle. In the morning the husband looks uppon his wife, y e Brother his sister, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the nevew, that weare for the most part found deade. They lauquish w th cryes & hideous noise that it was able to make the haire starre on y e heads that have any apprehension. Good God, have mercy on so many poore innocent people, and of us that acknowledge thee, that having offended thee punishes us. But wee are not free of that cruel Executioner. Those that have any life, seeketh out for roots, w ch could not be done w th out great difficultie, the earth being frozen 2 or 3 foote deepe, and the snow 5 or

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6 above it, The greatest substance that we can have is of rind [vine] tree which growes like ivie about the trees; but to swallow it, we cutt the stick some 2 foot long, tying it in 81 faggott, and boyle it, and when it boyles one houre or two y e rind or skinno comes off w th ease, w ch we take and drie it in the smoake and then reduce it into powder betwixt two graine-stoans, and putting the kettle w th the same waiter uppon the fire, we make it a kind of breath, w ch nourished us, but becam thirstier and drier than the woode we eate.

The 2 first weeke we did eate our doggs. As we went backe upon our stepps for to gert any thing to fill our bellyes, we weare glad to gott the beans and carcasses of the beasts that we killed. And happy was he that could gett what the other did throw away after it had ben boyled 3 or foure times to get the substance out of it. We contrived an other plott to reduce to powder those boanes, y e rest [remains] of crows and doggs. So putt all that together halle foot w th in grounde, and so makes a fire uppon it. We covered all that very well w th earth, see feeling the heat, and boyled them againe and gave more froth than before; in the next place, the skins that weare reserved to make us shoos, cloath, and stokins, yea, most of the skins of our cottages, the castors' skins , where the children beshit them above a hundred times. We burned the haire on the coals; the rest goes downe throats, eating heartily these things most abhorred. We went so eagerly to it that our gumms did bleede like one newly wounded. The wood was our food the rest of [that] sorrowfull time. Finaly we became the very Image of death. We mistook ourselves very often, taking the living for the dead and y e dead for the living. We wanted strength to draw the living out of the cabans, or if we did when we could, it was to putt them four paces in the snow. Art y e end the wrath of God begins to appease itselfe, and pityes his poore creatures. If I should expresse all that befell us in that strange accidents, a great volume would not containe it. Here are above 500 dead, men, women, and children. It's time to come out of such miseryes. Our bodyes are not able to hold out any further.

After the storme calme comes. But stormes favoured us, being that calme kills us. Here comes a wind and raine that putts a new life in us. The snow falls, the forest cleers itselfe, att w ch sight those that had strings left in their bowes 6 82 takes courage to use it. The

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weather continued so 3 dayes that we needed no racketts more, for the snow hardned much. The small s taggs are [as] if they weare stakes in it after they made 7 or 8 capers. It's an easy matter for us to take them and cutt their throats w th our knives. Now we see ourselves a little nourished, but yett have not payed, flor it cost many their lives. Our gutts became very straight by our long fasting, that they could not containe the quantity that some putt in them. I cannot omitt the pleasant thoughts of some of them wildmen. Seeing my brother allways in the same condition, they said some Devill brought him wherew th all to eate; but if they had seene his body they should be of another oppinion. The beard that covered his face made as if he had not altered his face. For me that had no beard, they said I loved them, because I lived as well as they. From the second day we began to walke.

There came 2 men from a strange countrey who had a dogg; the buissinesse was how to catch him cunningly, knowing well those people love their beasts. Neverthesse wee offred guifts, but they would not, w ch made me stubborne. That dogge was very leane and as hungry as we weare, but the masters have not suffered so much. I went one night neare that same cottage to doe what discretion permitts me not to speake. Those men were Nadoneseronons. They weare [so] much respected that nobody durst not offend them, being that we weare upon their land w th their leave.<sup>1</sup> The dogg comes out, not by any smell but by good like. I take him and bring him a litle way. I stabbed him w th my dagger. I brought him to the cottage, where [he] was broyled like a pigge and cutt in peeces, gutts and all, soe every one of the family had his share. The snow where he was killed was not lost, flor one of our company went and gott it to season the kettles. We began to looke better dayly. We gave [held] y e rendezvous to [at] the convenientest place to celebrat that great feast.

<sup>1</sup> The Frenchmen, with their Huron and Ottawa companions, had by this time wandered into the country of the "Dahkotahs or Sioux, west of Lake Superior, in the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota." ( *Minn. Hist. Coll.*, v., p, 401.)

Some 2 moons after there came 8 ambassadors from the nations of Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe.<sup>1</sup> Those men each had 2 wives, loadened of Oats, corne that grows in that countrey, of a small quantity of Indian Corne, w th other grains, & it was to present to us, w ch we received as a great favour & token of friendshippe; but it had been [more] welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonys in greasing our feete and leggs, and we painted them w th red. They stript us naked and put uppon us cloath of buffe <sup>2</sup> and of white castors . After this they weeped uppon our heads untill we weare wetted by their tears, and made us smoake in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but in pipes of peace and of the warrs, that they pull out but very seldom, when there is occasion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our cloaths and armour one after an other, and to conclude did throw a great quantity of tobacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all persons of their nation came to visit us, that we might dispose of them.

1 Bœuf Sioux.— Ed.

2 Buffalo skins.— Ed.

The next morning they weare called by our Interpreter. We understood not a word of their language, being quit. contrary to those that we weare w th . They are arrived, they satt downe. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more art our ease & to appeare in more state. We borrowed their Calumet, saying that we are in their countrey, and that it was not lawfull for us to carry anything out of our countrey. That pipe is of a red stone, as bigge as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reede as long as five foot, in breadth, and of the thicknesse of a thumb. There is tyed to it the taylor of an eagle all painted over w th severall coulours and open like a fan, or like that makes a kind of a wheele when he shuts; below the toppe of the steeke is covered w th feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine colour. We tooke the taylor of the eagle, and instead of it we hung 12 Iron

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bows in the same manner as y e feathers weare, 84 and a blade about it along the staffe, a hattchett planted in y e ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armours it uppon forks. Everyone smoaked his pipe of to nor they never gee w th out it. During that while there was a great silence. We prepared some powder that was litle wetted, and y e good powder was precious to us. Our Interpreter told them in our name, "Brethren, we have accepted of your guifts. Yee are called here to know our will and pleasur that is such: first, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection, and for to shew you, we, instead of y e eagles' tayle, have putt some of our armours, to the end that no ennemy shall approach it to breake the affinite that we make now w th you. Then we tooke the 12 Iron off y e bowes and lift them up, telling them those points shall passe over the whole world to defend and destroy your ennemyes, that are ours. Then we putt the Irons in the same place againe. Then we tooke the sword and bad them have good courage, that by our means they should vanquish their ennemy. After we tooke the hattchett that was planted in the ground, we tourned round about, telling them that we should kill those that would warre against them, and that we would make forts y t they should come w th more assurance to the feast of the dead. That done we throw powder in y e fire, that had more strenght then we thought; it made the brands fly from one side to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was some of our Tobacco, and make them smoake as they made us smoake. But hearing such a noise, and they seeing that fire fled of every side, w th out any further delay or looke for so much time as looke for the dore of the cottage, one runne one way, another an other way, flor they never saw a sacrifice of tobacco so violent. They went all away, and we onely stayed in the place. We followed them to reassure them of their faintings. We visited them in their appartments, where they received [us] all trembling for feare, believing realy by that same meanes that we weare the Devils of the earth. There was nothing but feasting for 8 days.

The time now was nigh that we must gee to the rendezvous; this was betwixt a small lake and a medow. Being 85 arrived, most of ours weare allready in their cottages. In 3 days' time there arrived eighteen severall nations, and came privatly, to have done the sooner.

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As we became to the number of 500, we held a councell. Then the shouts and cryes, and the encouragements weare proclaimed, that a fort should be builded. They went about the worke and made a large fort. It was about 603 score paces in lenght and 600 in breadth, so that it was a square. There we had a brooke that came from the lake and emptied itself in those medows, w ch had more than four leagues in lenght. Our fort might be seene afar off, and on y side most deligtfull, for the great many stagges that took the boldnesse to be carried by quarters where art other times they made good cheare.

In two dayes this was finished. Soone 30 young men of y e nation of the beefe arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, w th very short garments, to be the nimbler in chasing the stagges. The Iron of their arrows were of staggs' pointed horens very neatly. They were all proper men, and dressed w th paint. They weare the discoverers and y e foreguard. We kept a round place in y e midle of our Cabban and covered it w th long poles w th skins over them, that we might have a shelter to keepe us from y e snow. The cottages weare all in good order; in each 10, twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood layd for the fires. The snow was taken away, and the earth covered w th deale tree bows [pine boughs]. Severall kettles weare brought there full of meate. They rested and eat above 5 houres w th out speaking one to another. The considerablest of our companyes went and made speeches to them. After one takes his bow and shoots an arrow, and then cryes aloud, therespeaks some few words, saying that they weare to left them know the Elders of their village weare to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it w th y e ffrench, and that a great many of their yong people came and brought them some part of their wayes to take their advice, flor they had a minde to goe against y e Christinos, who weare ready for them, and they in like manner to save their wives & 86 children. They weare scattered in many Cabbans that night, expecting those that weare to come. To that purpose there was a vast large place prepared some hundred paces from y e fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of those persons. They weare to sett their tents, that they bring uppon their backs. The

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pearches weare putt out and planted as we received the news; the snow putt aside, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The day following they arrived w th an incredible pomp. This made me thinke of y e Intrace y t y e Polanders did in Paris, saving that they had not so many Jewells, but instead of them they had so many feathers. The ffirst weare yong people w th their bows and arrows and Buckler on their shoulders, uppon w ch weare represented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of y e sun and moone, of terrestriall beasts, about its feathers very artificialy painted. Most of the men their faces weare all over dabbed w th severall collours. Their hair turned up like a Crowne, and weare curt very even, but rather so burned, for the fire is their cicers. They leave a tuff of haire upon their Crowne Of their heads, tye it, and putt att y e end of it some small pearles or some Turkey [turquoise] stones, to bind their heads. They have a role commonly made of a snake's skin, where they tye severall bears' paws, or give a forme to some bitts of buff's [buffalo] horns, and put it about the said role. They grease themselves w th very thick grease, & mingle it in reddish earth, w ch they bourne, as we our breeks. W th this stuffe they gett their haire to stand up. They curt some down of Swan or other fewle that hath a white feather, and cover w th it the crowne of their heads. Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are so bigg that yo r little finger might passe through. They have yallow waire that they make w th copper, made like a starr or a half moone, & there hang it. Many have Turkeys [turquoise]. They are cloathed w th Oriniack & staggs' skins, but very light. Every one had the skin of a crow hanging att their guirdles. Their stokens all imbrodered w th pearles and w th their own porke-pick [porcupine] worke. They have very handsome shoose laced very thick all over w th a 87 peece sowen att the side of y e heele, w ch was of a haire of Buff, w ch trailed above halfe a foot upon the earth, or rather on the snow. They had swords and knives of a foot and a halfe long, and hattchetts very ingeniously done, and clubbs of wood made like backswords; some made of a round head that I admired it. When they kille their ennemy they curt off y e tuffe of haire and tye it about their armes. After [over] all, [they] have a white robe made of castors' skins painted. Those having passed through



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the middle of ours, that weare ranged att every side of the way. The Elders came w th great gravitie and modestie, covered with buff coats w ch hung dewne to y e grounde. Every one had in his hand a pipe of Councell sett w th precious jewells. They had a sack on their shoulders, and y t that holds it grows in the middle of their stomachs and on their shoulders. In this sacke all y e world is inclosed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dressed as the foremost. Then y e women laden like unto so many mules, their burdens made a greater shew then they themselves; but I suppose the weight was not equipolent to its bignesse. They weare conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and fiang their skins whereof their tents are made, so that they had howses [in] lesse than half an houre.

After they rested they came to the biggest cabbane constituted for that purpose. There weare fires kindled. Our Captayne made a speech of thanksgiving, w ch should be long to writ it. We are called to the councell of new come chiefe, where we came in great pompe, as you shall heare. First they come to make a sacrifice to the ffrench, being Gods and masters of all things, as of peace, as warrs; making the knives, the hattchetts, and y e kettles rattle, etc. That they came purposely to putt themselves under their protection. Moreover, that they came to bring them back againe to their countrey, having by their means destroyed their Ennemyes abroad & neere. So said, they present us w th guifts of Castors' skins, assuring us that y e mountains were elevated, y e valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the bows of trees cutt downe to gee w th more ease, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wett our feete; that the dores of their 88 villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, weare open at any time to receive us, being wee kept them alive by our marchandises. The second guilt was, y t they would die in their alliance, and that to certifie to all nations by continuing the peace, & weare willing to receive and assist them in their countrey, being well satisfied they were come to celebrat y e feast of the dead. The 3 rd guift was for to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if neede required, to receive and keepe them from the Christinos that come to destroy them; being allwayes men, and the heavens made them so, that they weare obliged to gee before to defend their country

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and their wives, w ch is y e dearest thing they had in the world, & in all times they weare esteemed stout & true soldiers, & that yett they would make it appeare by going to meet them; and y t they would not degenerat, but shew by their actions that they weare as valiant as their fore ffathers. The 4 th guift was presented to us, w ch [was] of Buff skins, to desire our assistance flor being the masters of their lives, and could dispose of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the warts, and that we might very well see that they did well to gee defend their owne countrey; that the true means to gott the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gunne [gun] calling it *miniskoick* .

The speech being finished, they intreated us to be art the feast. We gee presently back againe to furnish us w th woaden bowls. We made foure men to carry our guns afore us, that we charged of powder alone, because of their unskillfullnesse that they might have killed their ffathers. We each of us had a pair of pistoletts and Sword, a dagger. We had a role of porkepick about our heads, w ch was as a crowne, and two little boyes that carryed the vessells that we had most need of; this was our dishes and our spoons. They made a place higher & most elevate, knowing our customs, in the midle for us to sitt, where we had the men lay our armes. Presently comes foure elders w th y e calumet kindled in their hands. They present y e candles to us to smoake, and foure beautifull maids that went before us carrying bears' skins to putt under us. When we weare together an old man rises & throws our calumet att our feet, and 89 bids them take the kettles from of y e fire, and spoake that he thanked the sun that never was a day to him so happy as when he saw those terrible men whose words makes the earth quacke, and sang a while. Having ended, came and covers us w th his vestment, and all naked except his feet and Jeggs, he saith, "Yee are masters over us; dead or alive you have the power over us, and may dispose of us as your pleasur." So done, takes the callumet of y e feast, and brings it, so a maiden brings us a coale of fire to kindle it. So done, we rose, and one of us begins to sing. We bad the interpreter to tell them we should save & keep their lives, taking them for our brethren, and to testify that we shott of all our artillery, w ch was of twelve gunns. We draw our swords and long knives to our defence, if need should require, w ch putt the men

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in such a terror that they knewed not what was best to run or stay. We throw a handfull of powder in the fire to make a greater noise and smoake.

Our songs being finished, we began our teeth to worke. We had there a kinde of rice, much like oats. It growes in the watter in 3 or 4 foote deepe. There is a God that shews himselfe in every countrey, almighty, full of goodnesse, and y preservation of those poore people who knoweth him not. They have a particular way to gather up that graine. Two takes a boat and two sticks, by w ch they gett y e eare downe and gett the corne out of it. Their boat being full, they bring it to a fitt place to dry it, and that is their food for the most part of the winter, and doe dresse it thus: flor each man a handfull of that they putt in the pott, that swells so much that it can suffice a man. After the feast was over there comes two maidens, bringing wherew th all to smoake, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered first to one of y e elders, that sat downe by us. When he had smoaked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went backe to our fort as we came.

The day following we made y e principall Persons come together to answer to their guifts. Being come w th great solemnity, there we made our Interpreter tell them that we weare come from the other side of y e great salted lake, not to kill them but to make y m live; acknowledging you for our 90 brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our owne; then we gave them a kettle. The second guift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generously defended themselves against all their ennemyes; and as we weare masters of peace and warrs, we are to dispose the affairs [so] that we would see an universall peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not goe and force the nations that weare yett further to condescend & submitt to our will, but that we would see the neighbouring countreys in peace and union; that the Christinos weare our brethren, and [we] have frequented them many winters; that we adopted them for our children, and tooke them under our protection; that we should send them ambassadors; that I myself should make them come, and conclude a generall peace; that we weare sure of their obedience to us; that the ffirst that should breake the peace we would be their ennemy, and would reduce them to powder w th our heavenly fire; that we

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had the word of y e Christinos as well as theirs, and our thunders should serve us to make warrs against those that would not submitt to our will and desire, w ch was to see them good ffriends, to goe and make warrs against the upper nations, that doth not know us as yett. The guilt was of 6 hattchetts. The 3 rd was to oblige them to receive our propositions, likewise the Christinos, to lead them to y e dance of Union, w ch was to be celebrated at y e death's feast and banquet of kindred. If they would continue the warrs, y t was not y e meanes to see us againe in their Countrey. The 4 th was that We thanked them ffor making us a free passage through their countreys. Y e guift was of 2 dozen of knives. The last was of smaller trifles,—6 gratters, 2 dozen of awles, 2 dozen of needles, 6 dozens of looking-glasses made of fine, a dozen of litle bells, 6 Ivory combs, w th a litle vermillion. But ffor to make a recompence to y e good old man that spake so favorably, we gave him a hattchett, and to the Eiders each a blade for a sword, and to the 2 maidens y t served us 2 necklaces, w ch putt about their necks, and 2 braceletts for their armes. The last guift was in generall for all y e women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their 91 cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!* that is, thanks. Our wildmen made others for their interest.

A company of about 50 weare dispatched to warne the Christinos of what we had done. I went myself, where we arrived the 3 rd day, early in y e morning. I was received w th great demonstration of ffriendshippe. All that day we feasted, danced, and sing. I compared that place before to the Buttery of Paris, ffor the great quantity of meat that they use to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received guifts of all sorts of meate, of grease more than 20 men could carry. The custome is not to deface anything that they present. There weare about 600 men in a fort, w th a great deale of baggage on their shoulders, and [they] did draw it upon light slids [sleds] made very neatly. I have not seen them att their entrance, ffor the snow blinded mee. Coming back, we passed a lake hardly frozen, and the sun [shone upon it] for the most part, ffor I looked a while steadfastly on it, so I was troubled w th this seaven or eight days.

The meane while that we are there,<sup>1</sup> arrived above a thousand that had not ben there but for those two redoubted nations that weare to see them doe what they never before had, a difference w ch was executed w th a great deale of mirth. I ffor feare of being inuied I will obmitt onely that there weare playes, mirths, and bataills for sport, goeing and coming w th cryes; each plaid his part. In the publick place the women danced w th melody. The yong men that indeavoured to gett a pryse, indeavoured to clime up a great post, very smooth, and greased w th oyle of beare & oriniack grease. The stake was att least of 15 foot high. The price was a knife or other thing. We layd y e stake there, but whose could catch it should have it. The feast was made to eate all up. To honnour the feast many men and women did burst. Those of that place coming backe, came in sight of those of the village or fort, made postures in similitud of warrs. This was to discover the ennemy by signs; any that

1 Still among the Christinos. This band that the Frenchmen visited was evidently seven days' journey north of the Mille Lacs region.— Ed.

92 should doe see we gave orders to take him, or kill him and take his head off. The prisoner to be tyed [and] to fight in retreating. To pull an arrow out of y e body; to exercise and strike w th a clubbe, a buckler to theire feete, and take it if neede requireth, and defende himselfe, if neede requirs, from the ennemye; being in sentery to heark y e ennemy that comes neere, and to heare the better lay him dewne on the side. These postures are played while the drums beate. This was a serious thing, w th out speaking except by nodding or gesture. Their drums weare earthen potts full of watter, covered w th staggs-skin. The sticks like hammers for y e purpose. The elders have bomkins to the end of their staves full of small stones, w ch makes a ratle, to w ch yong men and women gee in a cadance. The elders are about these potts, beating them and singing. The women also by, having a nosegay in their hands, and dance very modestly, not lifting much their feete from the ground, keeping their heads downewards makeing a sweet harmony. We made guifts for that while 14 days' time. Every one brings y e most exquisite things, to shew what his country affoards. The renewing of their alliances, the marriages according

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to their countrey coustoms, are made; also the visit of the beans of their deceased friends, for they keepe them and bestow them uppon one another. We sang in our language as they in theirs, to wch they gave greate attention. We gave them severall gifts, and received many. They bestowed upon us above 300 robs of castors, out of wch we brought not five to the french, being far [away] in y e countrey.

This feast ended, every one retourns to his countrey well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of y e beefe, wch was seaven small Journeys from that place. We promised in like manner to the Christinos y e next spring we should come to their side of the upper take [Superior] and there they should meet us, to come into their countrey.<sup>1</sup> We being arrived among y t nation of the beefe,<sup>2</sup>

1 In the Hudson bay region.— Ed.

2 The band of Bœuf Sioux whom they met earlier in the season were on their winter hunt. The Frenchmen had now apparently come to the principal winter village. Radisson speaks of their summering grounds as being further south than this, apparently in the neighborhood of the lead mines of Iowa.— Ed.

93 we wondered to finde ourselves in a towne where weare great cabbans most covered w th skins and other close matts. They tould us that there weare 7,000 men. This we believed. Those have as many wives as they can keepe. If any one did trespasse upon the other his nose was cutt off, and often the crowne of his head. The maidens have all manner of freedome, but are forced to marry when they come to the age. The more they beare children the more they are respected. I have seene a man having 14 wives. There they have no wood, and make provision of mosse for their firing. This their place is environed w th pearches wch are a good distance one from an other, that they gett in the valleys where the Buffe used to repaire, uppon wch they do live. They sow corne, but their harvest is small. The soyle is good, but the cold hinders it, and y e graine [is] very small. In their countrey are mines of copper, of pewter, and of ledd. There are mountains covered w th a kind of Stone that is transparent and tender, and like to that of Venice. The people

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stay not there all y e yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the North, where they kill a quantity of Castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world, but not in such a store as the Christinos, but far better.

Wee stayed there 6 weeks, and came back w th a company of people of y e nation of y e Sault, y t came along w th us loaden w th booty. Wee weare 12 days before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, w ch [is] the fittest time to kill the Oriniack. A wildman and I w th my brother killed that time above 600, besides other beasts. We came to the lake side w th much paines, ffor we sent our wildmen before, and we two weare forced to make cariages 5 days through the woods. After we mett w th a company that did us a great deale of service, ffor they carryed what we had, and arrived at the appointed place before 3 dayes ended. Here we made a fort,<sup>1</sup> Att our arrivall we found art least 20 cottages full.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently on Oak point, hemming in Chequamegon bay on the east.

It will be remembered that ( *ante*, p. 72) Radisson says, when speaking of portaging over Oak point, the fall before: "That point should be very fitt to build & advantgeous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following."— Ed.

94

One very faire evening we went to finde what we hide before, w ch we finde in a good condition.<sup>1</sup> We went about to execut our resolution, fforseeing that we must stay that yeare there, ffor w ch wee weare not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited untill the Ice should vanish, but received [news] that the Octanaks [had] built a fort on the point that forms that Bay, w ch resembles a small lake. We went towards it w th all speede. We had a great store of booty w ch we would not trust to ye wildmen, ffor the occasion makes y e thiefe. We overloaded our slide [sled] on that rotten ice, and the further we went the Sun was stronger, w ch made our Trainage have more difficultie. I seeing my brother so strained, I tooke y e slide w ch was heavier than mine,

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and he mine. Being in that extent above foure leagues from y e ground, we sunke downe above the one halfe of y e legge in the Ice, and must advance in spight of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undoe us. We strived so that I hurted myselfe in so much that I could not stand up right, nor [go] any further. This putt us in great trouble. Uppon this I advised my brother to leave me w th his slide. We putt the two sleds one by another. I tooke some cloathes to cover mee. After I stripped myself from my wett cloathes, I layed myselfe downe on the slide; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to goe. He makes hast and came there in time, and sends wildmen for me and the slids. There we found the perfidiousnesse of the Octanaks. Seeing us in Extremitie, [they] would prescribe us laws. We promised them whatever they asked. They came to fetch me.

1 See *ante*, p. 75.— Ed.

For eight dayes I was so tormented I thought never to recover. I rested neither day nor night; at last by means that God and my brother did use, w ch was by rubbing my leggs w th hott oyle of bears and keeping my thigh and leggs 95 well tyed, it came to its former strength. After a while I came to me selfe. There comes a great company of new wildmen to seeke a nation in that land for a weighty buissinesse. They desired me to goe a long, so I prepare myselfe to goe w th them. I marched well 2 dayes; the 3 rd day the sore begins to breake out againe, in so much that I could goe no further. Those left me, albeit I came for their sake. You will see the cruelties of those beasts, and I may think that those y t liveth on fish uses more inhumanities than those that feed upon flesh; neverthesse I proceeded forwards the best I could, but knewed [not] where for y e most part, y e sun being my only guide.

There was some snow as yet on the ground, w ch was so hard in the mornings that I could not percave any tracks. The worst was that I had not a hattchett nor other arme, and not above the weight of ten pounds of victualls, w th out any drink. I was obliged to proceed five days for my good fortune. I indured much in the morning, but a little warmed, I went



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w th more ease. I looked betimes for som old cabbans where I found wood to make fire wherw th . I melted the snow in my cappe that was so greasy. One night I finding a cottage covered it w th boughs of trees that I found ready cutt. The fire came to it as I began to slumber, w ch soone awaked me in hast, lame as I was, to save meselfe from the fire. My racketts, shoos, and stokens kept me my life; I must needs save them. I tooke them and flung them as farr as I could in the snow. The fire being out, I was forced to looke for them, as dark as it was, in y e said snow, all naked & very lame, and almost starved both for hunger and cold. But what is that a man cannot doe when he seeth that it concerns his life, that one day he must lose. Yett we are to prolong it as much as we cane, & the very feare maketh us to invent new wayes.

The fifth day I heard a noyse and thought it of a wolfe. I stood still, and soone perceived that it was of a man. Many wild men weare up and downe looking for me, fearing least the Bears should have devoured me. That man came neere and saluts me, and demands whether it was I. We both satt downe; he looks in my sacke to see if I had victualls, 96 where he finds a peece as bigg as my fist. He eats this w th out [my] participation, being their usuall way. He inquireth if I was a hungary. I tould him no, to shew meselfe stout and resolute. He takes a pipe of tobacco, and then above 20 pounds of victualls he takes out of his sack, and greased, and gives it me to eate. I eat what I could, and gave him the rest. He bids me have courage, that y e village was not far off. He demands if I knewed y e way, but I was not such as should say no. The village was att hand. The other wildmen [had] arrived but the day before, and after a while [we] came by boats to the lake. The boats weare made of Oriniacks' skins. I find my brother w th a company of Christinos that weare arrived in my absence. We resolved to cover our buissinesse better, and close our designe as if we weare going a hunting, and send them before; that we would follow them [the Christinos] y e next night, w ch we did, & succeeded, but not w th out much labor and danger; for not knowing the right way to thwart the other side of the lake,<sup>1</sup> we weare in danger to perish a thousand times because of the crams of Ice. We thwarted a place of 15 leagues. We arrived on the other side att night. When we came there, we knewed

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not where to goe, on the right or left hand, ffor we saw no body. Att last, as we w th full sayle came from a deepe Bay, we perceived smoake and tents. Then many boats from thence came to meete us. We are received w th much Joy by those poore Christinos. They suffered not that we trod on ground; but they leade us into the midle of their cottages in our own boats, like a couple of cocks in a Basquett.

1 He means that he and his companion were at first ignorant of any portage from Lake Superior over into Hudson's bay. They were by this time skirting the northwest shore of the lake, endeavoring to find their Christino friends. In his succeeding sentence, Radisson's reference is doubtless to what came to be afterwards known as the Grand Portage, by way of Pigeon river and the Lake of the Woods. On Franquelin's map of 1688, the name Groseilliers is applied to what is now Pigeon river.— Ed.